

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15

ICA-11 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 HA-05 EB-08 COME-00

CA-01 PC-01 IO-13 /110 W

-----095528 250749Z /11

R 241200Z AUG 78

FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7350

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY KIGALI POUCH

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 BUJUMBURA 1003

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEDR, PDEV, PINT, PINS, PROP, SHUM, BY, US

SUBJ: PROSPECTS FOR BURUNDI - U.S. RELATIONS OVER NEXT YEAR

SUMMARY: WE REVIEW BURUNDI-U.S. RELATIONS TO ASSESS VALIDITY OF OUR OBJECTIVES AND EVALUATE PROSPECTS FOR THEIR ACHIEVEMENT. OUR INTERESTS IN BURUNDI ARE ESSENTIALLY HUMANITARIAN RATHER THAN STRATEGIC AND OUR OBJECTIVES HAVE TO DO WITH ENCOURAGING RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, DEVELOPING DIALOGUE, ENCOURAGING PROGRESS TOWARDS MODERNIZED NATIONAL STRUCTURE AND PROMOTING MORE EFFECTIVE REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION. WE FORESEE DIMINISHING DIRECT ROLE FOR AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND IN NEAR FUTURE SEE ONLY MODEST OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN COMMERCIAL INTERESTS IN JOINT PARTICIPATION WITH OTHER FOREIGN INTERESTS. OUR INFLUENCE WILL BE IN PROPORTION TO OUR RELATIVELY MODEST ASSISTANCE ROLE. OUR OBJECTIVES REMAIN VALID BUT PROGRESS TOWARDS THESE ACHIEVEMENTS WILL BE AFFECTED BY BURUNDI'S PECULIAR GEOGRAPHICAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REALITIES INCLUDING MILITARY RULE BY A MINORITY, TRADITIONAL SUSPICION OF OUTSIDERS, DIFFICULTY IN ABSORBING ASSISTANCE AND THE AMBITIOUS NATURE OF BURUNDI'S REVOLUTIONARY

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POLICY. BURUNDI'S RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS, ITS PERCEPTION OF AND ABILITY TO DEAL WITH INTENTIONS OF COMMUNIST POWERS REPRESENTED HERE, THE ACTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE PARTY AND YOUTH MOVEMENT AND THE TREND OF THE INTERNAL MANEUVERING WITHIN THE ELITE MINORITY WILL ALSO HAVE IMPORTANT EFFECTS. WE SEE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH BURUNDI AS PROPERLY CONTINUING TO BE ONE APPROPRIATE TO OUR HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS

AND MARKED BY PATIENT PURSUIT OF OUR VERY GENERAL OBJECTIVES AND READINESS TO BE SATISFIED WITH THEIR ACHIEVEMENT IN A VERY GENERAL MANNER. END SUMMARY.

1. WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN A GENERAL REVIEW OF BURUNDI-U.S. RELATIONS IN ORDER TO ASSESS THE VALIDITY OF OUR STATED OBJECTIVES IN REGARD TO BURUNDI AND TO EVALUATE THE PROSPECTS FOR THEIR ACHIEVEMENT.

2. THE U.S. HAS NO PARTICULAR STRATEGIC OR NATIONAL INTEREST AT STAKE IN BURUNDI AND OUR ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN THE COUNTRY ARE MINIMAL. DESPITE THE INVESTIGATION OF NICKEL DEPOSITS, THE INTERNATIONAL NICKEL SITUATION, TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS AND THE LACK OF NECESSARY INFRASTRUCTURE MAKE IT UNLIKELY THAT THERE WILL BE ANY BREAKTHROUGH IN THIS FIELD IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WE HAVE 92 AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND FAMILIES IN BURUNDI WHO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE EDUCATIONAL AND HEALTH INFRASTRUCTURE BUT THEIR LONG TERM PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN BURUNDI LIFE ON THEIR PRESENT SCALE OF ACTIVITY ARE DOUBTFUL. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALREADY MOVED TO NATIONALIZE PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY LIKE TO TAKE OVER SECONDARY SCHOOLS IF IT THOUGHT IT HAD THE NECESSARY PERSONNEL. IT IS ALSO TAKING OVER MISSION HOSPITALS WITHOUT RESIDENT DOCTORS. THE ANGLICANS HAVE LOST TWO HOSPITALS AND A US GROUP ONE THUS FAR. GIVEN INCREASING DIFFICULTIES MISSIONARY GROUPS ARE ENCOUNTERING IN ATTRACTING DOCTORS TO BURUNDI, THIS PROCESS

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WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE. EXPULSION OF DIRECTOR OF SEVENTH DAY ADVENTIST PROGRAM BEARS EVIDENCE TO DEGREE FOREIGN MISSIONARIES ARE VULNERABLE TO ATTACK BY AFRICAN CHURCH OR GOVERNMENT FIGURES. TENSION BETWEEN THE GRB AND CATHOLIC HIERARCHY HAS RESULTED IN THE TRANSFER OF THE PAPAL NUNCIO AND A LONG DELAY IN GRANTING AGREEMENT FOR HIS SUCCESSOR. GOVERNMENT IS JEALOUS OF INDEPENDENCE OF RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES AND IS SEEKING TO EXTEND ITS POWER OVER THEM. AS A RESULT, MISSIONARIES WHO FIND THEMSELVES AT ODDS WITH OFFICIALS WILL INCREASINGLY BE IN DIFFICULT POSITION.

3. OUR INTERESTS IN BURUNDI ARE BROAD, GENERAL AND ESSENTIALLY HUMANITARIAN. WE DESCRIBE THEM, PERHAPS A BIT AMBITIOUSLY, IN TERMS OF ENCOURAGING THE TREND OF INCREASING REGARD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, OF DEVELOPING AND DEEPENING OUR BILATERAL DIALOGUE WITH BURUNDI, AND ENCOURAGING PROGRESS TOWARD BUILDING A MODERNIZED NATIONAL STRUCTURE AND IN PROMOTING MORE EFFECTIVE REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION. WE NOTE IN THIS REGARD THAT THE GOVERNMENT WHICH CAME TO POWER IN NOVEMBER 1976 HAS ENUNCIATED A STRONG POLICY OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND REFORM DESIGNED TO END THE SOCIAL CONFLICT BETWEEN MAJORITY HUTU AND MINORITY TUTSI THAT HAD DOMINATED THE

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COUNTRY AT LEAST IN RECENT YEARS.

4. HOWEVER, THIS BOLD NEW POLICY DEPENDS FOR ITS EXECUTION ON A BUREAUCRACY AND AN ARMY THAT REMAIN ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY TUTSI. THE BASIC GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTS OF LIFE ALSO REMAIN UNCHANGED. BURUNDI IS STILL LANDLOCKED, OVERPOPULATED, SHORT OF PLANNERS, EXECUTIVES AND OTHER CADRES, WITHOUT EITHER EFFECTIVE INFRASTRUCTURE OR ADEQUATE FOOD PRODUCTION, OVERLY DEPENDENT ON ONE CASH CROP AND ON A FOREIGN COMPRADOR CLASS, ENJOYING LESS THAN CORDIAL RELATIONS WITH ITS FRANCOPHONE NEIGHBORS, ZAIRE AND RWANDA, AND HEAVILY RELIANT ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BUT SEEMINGLY INCOMPETENT TO COPE WITH IT WHILE CARRYING OUT THE "NEW PROFOUND SECRET

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AND PEACEFUL REVOLUTION".

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FM AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
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5. UNDERNEATH THE PARTY/STATE STRUCTURE WHICH BURUNDI PRESENTS ON THE SURFACE THERE STILL LIES AN ARMY STRUCTURE, RUDIMENTARY BY ANY MODERN MILITARY YARDSTICK BUT DECISIVE IN FIXING POWER IN THE HANDS OF BURUNDI'S PRESENT RULERS, THE TUTSI ESTABLISHMENT.

WITHIN THAT STRUCTURE AT LEAST TWO ELEMENTS ARE IN COMPETITION
IN A MANNER FAR FROM CLEAR TO OUTSIDE OBSERVERS.

6. BURUNDI'S RULERS PROCLAIM THEIR INTENTIONS TO CARRY OUT
THEIR REVOLUTION THROUGH THE APPLICATION OF "DEMOCRATIC
CENTRALISM" UNDER THE SUPREMACY OF A SINGLE PARTY WHICH AFTER
HEARING THE DESIRES AND OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY ITS MILITANTS
MAKES DECISIONS BINDING UPON ALL AND ASSIGNS TASKS AND RESPONSI-
BILITIES. CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM AND COLLECTIVE RESPONSI-
BILITIES ARE STRESSED. THE ROLES OF THE PARTY, THE ARMY, AND
MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND OF THE STATE ARE LAID DOWN. A FOREIGN
POLICY OF GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS, CLOSE COOPERATION WITH ZAIRE AND
RWANDA, FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WITH TANZANIA, NON-INTERVENTION
IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES, POSITIVE NEUTRALITY,
COOPERATION BETWEEN NATIONS AND SUPPORT OF NATIONAL LIBERTY MOVE-
MENTS IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD IS SET OUT. AN ECONOMIC PROGRAM
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CALLING FOR REFORMS OF AGRICULTURE AND STOCK RAISING, INDUSTRY,
COMMERCE, PUBLIC FINANCES AND NATURAL RESOURCES, MANAGEMENT OF
MIXED ENTERPRISES, CREDIT POLICY, COOPERATIVES, TRANSPORTATION,
AND HOUSING IS PROMISED. IN THE SOCIO-CULTURAL FIELD REFORMS
ARE CALLED FOR IN HEALTH, JUSTICE, DELINQUENCY, WOMEN'S PROBLEMS,
EDUCATION, NATIONAL CULTURAL AND SPORTS AND LEISURE.

7. THE EXECUTION OF THIS REVOLUTIONARY POLICY WOULD REPRESENT
A TALL ORDER IN A COUNTRY PROVIDED WITH ADEQUATE CADRES. BURUNDI
DOES NOT HAVE SUCH CADRES AND THE DOMINANT ROLE OF THE TUTSI
MINORITY IN THE PARTY STRUCTURE FURTHER DRASTICALLY REDUCES THE
AVAILABLE MANPOWER POOL FOR THE FORMATION OF CADRES. WITHIN
THE EXISTING BUREAUCRACY THERE IS AN ALMOST UNIVERSAL TENDENCY
AT ALL LEVELS BELOW THE TOP TO AVOID RESPONSIBILITY BY EVADING
DECISIONS. THIS TENDENCY NO DOUBT RESULTS FROM THE BURUNDI
TRADITION OF SECRECY AND FROM THE PYRAMIDAL NATURE OF THE
PARTY STRUCTURE. IF ONE DOES NOT KNOW WHAT THE PARTY LINE
APPLICABLE TO A PARTICULAR CASE IS GOING TO BE HE IS WELL
ADVISED TO AVOID MAKING A DECISION HE MAY BE UNABLE TO JUSTIFY
SUBSEQUENTLY.

8. THE PREEMINENT POSITION OF BAGAZA AS HEAD OF THE SUPREME
REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL AND HEAD OF STATE MEANS THAT HE WILL GET
BOTH PRAISE FOR SUCCESSES AND DCAVE FOR FAILURES. SOME OB-
SERVERS CONSIDER HIM ALREADY ENTITLED TO CONSIDERABLE PRAISE
BECAUSE RENTS HAVE BEEN HELD DOWN, BRUTALITY BY THE ARMY TOWARD
THE POPULATION HAS DIMINISHED, AN OPEN DIALOGUE HAS DEVELOPED
BETWEEN PRESIDENT AND PEOPLE, CEMENT PRICES ARE DOWN, SOME BASIC
FOOD PRICES ARE DOWN, CIVIL SERVANTS ARE MORE DISCIPLINED AND
THE POPULATION IN GENERAL IS MORE INCLINED TO SOBRIETY. OTHER
OBSERVERS NOTE THAT BAGAZA HAS PUBLICLY TAKEN THE LEAD IN THE
ACCOMPLISHMENT OF CERTAIN SPECIFIC REFORMS WHICH APPEAR LESS

SUCCESSFUL. FOR EXAMPLE: NATIONALIZATION OF SCHOOLS WILL

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RESULT IN LOWERING OF EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS, AND CATHOLIC SOURCES HAVE TOLD US OF MASS PROTESTS IN COUNTRYSIDE TO CHURCH AUTHORITIES OVER REFORM WHICH BECOMES EFFECTIVE WITH SCHOOL YEAR BEGINNING IN SEPTEMBER. GRB EFFORTS TO LIMIT COMMERCE OF BASIC COMMODITIES TO GOVERNMENT OFFICE OF NATIONAL COMMERCE HAVE RESULTED IN COMPLETE DISARRAY IN TRADING OF SUCH BASIC PRODUCTS AS SUGAR, SALT AND FLOUR. REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF GREEK FISHING BOATS IN BURUNDI HAS RESULTED IN MUCH HIGHER PRICES FOR FISH AND RECURRENT SHORTAGES. CEILING ON RENTS HAS VIRTUALLY ENDED PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION AND HOUSES ARE BECOMING ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO ACQUIRE. INCREASES IN IMPORT DUTIES HAVE HIT CIVIL SERVANTS AND OTHERS IN BUJUMBURA HARD, AND BUSINESSMEN INFORM US CORRUPTION INCREASING DAILY AS OFFICIALS SEEK TO AUGMENT INCOME. WHILE IT APPARENTLY TRUE THERE HAS BEEN A POSITIVE STEP FORWARD IN LAND AND JUDICIAL REFORM ACCORDING TO OUR CONTACTS, GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT BASIC PROGRAM LOSING STEAM BECAUSE OF INCAPACITY OF ADMINISTRATION TO CARRY IT OUT. IN INSTANCES CITED ABOVE GRB'S AMBITIONS, WHILE CULTURALLY ADMIRABLE, HAVE RESULTED IN DETERIORATION OF LIVING STANDARDS RATHER THAN AN IMPROVEMENT.

9. U.S. OBJECTIVES IN BURUNDI SKETCHED OUT IN PARA TWO ABOVE REMAIN DESIRABLE ONES BUT WE SHOULD REALIZE THAT WE ARE, AND PERHAPS SHOULD BE, "AIMING FOR THE STARS" IN THIS REGARD.

(A) WE CAN INDEED "ENCOURAGE THE TREND REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS" RECOGNIZING THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HERE IS MUCH BETTER THAN IT WAS FIVE YEARS AGO AND BETTER THAN THE CURRENT SITUATION IN SOME OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES. WE SHOULD REMEMBER, HOWEVER, THAT WE ARE DEALING ESSENTIALLY WITH A ONE PARTY STATE IN WHICH PARTY AND STATE BOTH DEPEND ON A "MODERATE" MILITARY DICTATORSHIP.

(B) WE CAN SUPPORT THE PUBLICLY ENUNCIATED AND NO DOUBT SINCERE DESIRE OF THE LEADERSHIP OF BURUNDI FOR "HUTU/TUTSI ETHNIC RECONCILIATION". WE SHOULD BEAR IN MIND, HOWEVER, THAT

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A GENUINE CONCERN FOR THEIR OWN ETHNIC SURVIVAL AND FOR THE PROTECTION OF THEIR PRIVILEGED POSITION WILL MODERATE THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE LEADERSHIP FOR RAPID PROGRESS IN THIS REGARD.

(C) WE SHALL INEVITABLY "DEVELOP AND DEEPEN THE BILATERAL

DIALOGUE" WITH BURUNDI AS OUR ASSISTWPCE EFFORT DEVELOPS AND
WE MAY EXPECT TO HAVE OUR "UPS AND DOWNS" IN THIS PROCESS.

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ICA-11 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 HA-05 EB-08 COME-00
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(D) "CREATING A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE FOR ADVANCEMENT OF U.S.
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTERESTS" WILL FOLLOW SLOWLY AS OUR
"DIALOGUE" AND OUR "ASSISTANCE EFFORT" DEVELOP. THE KINDS OF
OPPORTUNITIES ARISING FOR AMERICAN COMMERCIAL INTERESTS ARE
LIKELY TO BE MODEST ONES REQUIRING SOME SORT OF JOINT PARTICI-
PATION WITH OTHER FOREIGN INVESTORS.

(E) WE CAN "ENCOURAGE PROGRESS TOWARD BUILDING OF A
MODERN NATIONAL STRUCTURE" AS A PRACTICAL MATTER ONLY IN
COOPERATION WITH OTHER BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL AID DONORS
GIVEN THE LIMITED NATURE OF OUR INTERESTS HERE AND THE PREPONDERANCE
OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND INVESTMENT. ALL FOREIGN DONORS AGREE
THIS WILL BE A SLOW PROCESS.

(F) WE SHALL NOT HAVE ANY GREAT DIFFICULTY IN "ENCOURAGING
WEST EUROPEANS TO REMAIN PRIMARY SOURCE OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE".
THEY SHARE THIS OBJECTIVE.

(G) WE SHOULD EXPECT GRATER DIFFICULTY IN "PROMOTING MORE
EFFECTIVE REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN
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BURUNDI AND ITS NEIGHBORS." THE PROBLEM HERE IS THAT ALL THE NEIGHBORS' OWN PRIORITY NEEDS HAVE FIRST CALL ON THEIR RESPECTIVE LIMITED RESOURCES.

(H) WE CAN "ENCOURAGE PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY OF THE GREAT LAKES STATES "TO WHICH ALL THREE MEMBERS GIVE LIP SERVICE. THE PROBLEM HERE IN OUR VIEW, AND IN THAT OF OUR WESTERN DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES, IS THAT THE ATMOSPHERE AMONG THE THREE GREAT LAKES STATES APPEARS TO BE ONE OF MUTUAL DISTRUST. EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC COOPERATION AMONG THE THREE WILL DEPEND ON AN IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR POLITICAL RELATIONS.

10. REALISTICALLY, AS WE HAVE NOTED ABOVE, OUR ABILITY TO ENCOURAGE SUPPORT, DEVELOP, OR PROMOTE ANYTHING IN BURUNDI WILL BE AFFECTED BY OUR ROLE AS ASSISTANCE DONOR, ALTHOUGH IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY FOLLOW THAT THE BURUNDI LISTEN MOST TO THE MOST GENEROUS DONORS. BELGIUM, THE EEC, FRANCE, WEST GERMANY AND THE UN FAMILY ARE RESPECTABLE CONTRIBUTORS IN RELATION TO THE USSR, ROMANIA, CHINA, NORTH KOREA, AND CUBA, FOR EXAMPLE, BUT THE QUOTE TILT UNQUOTE IN PUBLIC POSITIONS ADOPTED BY BURUNDI IS ALWAYS GREATER IN THE DIRECTION OF THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. WE SUSPECT THAT THERE ARE SOME GENUINE MARXISTS IN THE UPRONA PARTY AND MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND WE KNOW THAT THERE ARE QUITE A FEW WHO FOLLOW AN ANTI-WESTERN LINE ON AFRICA, MIDDLE EAST, AND NORTH-SOUTH MATTERS GENERALLY. HOWEVER, THE MAJOR REASON FOR THE QUOTE TILT UNQUOTE IS PROBABLY PRAGMATIC RATHER THAN IDEOLOGICAL. THE SMALL TUTSI MINORITY INTENDING TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION UNDER A SINGLE PARTY SYSTEM APPARENTLY FEELS THAT IT HAS MORE IN COMMON WITH AND MORE TO LEARN FROM THE COMMUNIST STATES. THIS DOES NOT, OF COURSE, MEAN THAT THE COMMUNIST SUBVERSIVE POTENTIAL IN BURUNDI OR FROM BURUNDI TOWARD ZAIRE IS NEGLIGIBLE. SOVIET UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS, CHINESE CONSTRUCTION TEAMS, NORTH KOREAN YOUTH "ANIMATORS" AND A RECENTLY ARRIVED CUBAN EMBASSY ARE ALL "IN THE SECRET

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PICTURE." THE PRECISE DEGREE OF INFLUENCE OF THESE VARIOUS FOREIGN COMMUNIST ELEMENTS WITH THE UPRONA PARTY, THE ARMY AND THE YOUTH ORGANIZATION IS UNCLEAR AND MERITS CLOSE STUDY.

11. MOST ASSISTANCE DONORS, INCLUDING, WE BELIEVE, THE COMMUNISTS, HAVE TO COPE WITH BURUNDI'S INABILITY TO ABSORB FOREIGN ASSISTANCE EFFECTIVELY AND WITH BURUNDI'S ORNERINESSHON ASSISTANCE MATTERS. THE NORTH KOREANS HAVE BEEN MILDLY CASTIGATED IN PUBLIC OVER THEIR MACHETE FACTORY PROBLEMS AND WE UNDERSTAND THE ROMANIANS HAVE BEEN HASSLED WITH PRIVATELY OVER THEIR BUSES. WE HAVE EXPERIENCED WHIMSICAL DELAYING TACTICS IN REGARD TO OUR OWN AID NEGOTIATIONS AND AT THE SAME TIME EXPRESSIONS OF DISAPPOINTMENT

THAT WE ARE NOT UNDERTAKING MORE AMBITIOUS PROGRAMS.

12. ON THE BASIS OF EXPERIENCE MANY FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES, INCLUDING SOME AFRICANS, ARE INCLINED TO DEFINE THE BURUNDI ATTITUDE TO OUTSIDERS IN TERMS OF BAD FAITH, DUPLICITY, DISHONESTY, PREVARICATION AND MENDACITY. SOME OTHERS WITH EVEN LONGER EXPERIENCE SUGGEST THESE TERMS HAVE NO APPLICATION IN BURUNDI BECAUSE CONCEALMENT, DECEPTION, DEVIOSNESS, AND MISREPRESENTATION ARE ACCEPTABLE NEGOTIATION TACTICS IN THE BURUNDI TRADITION. THEY EXPLAIN THE BURUNDI ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGNERS AS UNDERSTANDABLE IN A MOUNTAIN PEOPLE SURROUNDED BY STRONGER NEIGHBORS AND RETAINING AN INSTITUTIONAL MEMORY OF UNPLEASANT ENCOUNTERS WITH ARAB SLAVE TRADERS AND EUROPEAN EXPLORERS, MISSIONARIES, SOLDIERS AND ADMINISTRATORS.

13. AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, THERE IS REALLY NOTHING WE CAN DO TO CHANGE BURUNDI ATTITUDES. WE CAN BEST TRY TO WORK TOWARD THE ACHIEVEMENT OF OUR OBJECTIVES BY PATIENTLY PURSUING OUR EFFORT TO CARRY ON WITH PROJECTS IN THE ALTERNATIVE ENERGY AND FOOD PRODUCTION AREAS RECOGNIZING THAT WE ARE GOING TO MAKE PROGRESS ONLY VERY SLOWLY AND THAT WE ARE GOING TO EXPERIENCE DELAYS AND SETBACKS AS WHEN, FOR EXAMPLE, THE BURUNDI DRAG OUT NEGOTIATIONS OR MAKE UNREASONABLE DEMANDS. IN THE MEANTIME WE CAN MOVE AHEAD ON THE PEAT PROJECT, JUST SIGNED, CONTINUE THE PL 480 TITLE II

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ASSISTANCE THROUGH CRS DISTRIBUTION AND DEVOTE SPECIAL EFFORTS TO IDENTIFYING WORTHY SELF-HELP PROJECTS. IN THESE LATTER TWO AREAS AT LEAST EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN WE CAN HOPE TO ACHIEVE SOME READILY DISCERNIBLE IMPACT AND AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF COMPLETE STAGNATION OF EFFORT AS WE MOVE MORE SLOWLY WITH PROJECT ASSISTANCE IN THE FIELDS WE HAVE FOUND TO BE MOST APPROPRIATE. WE CAN EXPECT THAT THE GENERAL TONE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH BURUNDI WILL CONTINUE TO BE DETERMINED BY OUR PARTICIPATION IN THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE EFFORT. BURUNDI'S POSITION ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND QUOTE THE NON-ALIGNED UNQUOTE WILL FOLLOW THE GENERAL TREND OF THE NON-ALIGNED AFRICAN STATES AND WILL APPEAR MORE OFTEN THAN NOT INCLINED TOWARD THE POSITIONS OF THE COMMUNIST POWERS. THE TREND OF EVENTS IN ZAIRE WILL INEVITABLY FURTHER AFFECT BURUNDI'S ATTITUDE ON EAST-WEST QUESTIONS AND BURUNDI'S BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH TANZANIA AS WELL AS ITS ROLE IN THE "GREAT LAKES COUNTRIES" ASSOCIATION.

14. IN SHORT, OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH BURUNDI WILL, AND NO DOUBT SHOULD, CONTINUE TO BE ONE APPROPRIATE TO THE BROAD, GENERAL, AND HUMANITARIAN NATURE OF OUR ROLE IN AFRICA GENERALLY, LIMITED BY THE ABSENCE OF ANY PARTICULAR STRATEGIC OR NATIONAL INTEREST IN BURUNDI ITSELF AND MARKED BY A PATIENT, PERSISTENT BUT LOW

KEY EFFORT TO PURSUE OUR STATED OBJECTIVES WHILE REALIZING THAT
THESE ARE VERY GENERAL OBJECTIVES AND WE SHOULD BE SATISFIED WITH
THEIR EVENTUAL ACHIEVEMENT IN A VERY GENERAL MANNER.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978BUJUMB01003
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780348-0263
Format: TEL
From: BUJUMBURA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780825/aaaaaumi.tel
Line Count: 444
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 403c105c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1625208
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PROSPECTS FOR BURUNDI - U.S. RELATIONS OVER NEXT YEAR SUMMARY: WE REVIEW BURUNDI-U.S. RELATIONS TO ASSESS VALIDITY OF OUR OBJECTIVES AND EVALUATE PROSPECTS FOR THEIR AC
TAGS: PEPR, PDEV, PINT, PINS, PROP, SHUM, BY, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/403c105c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014